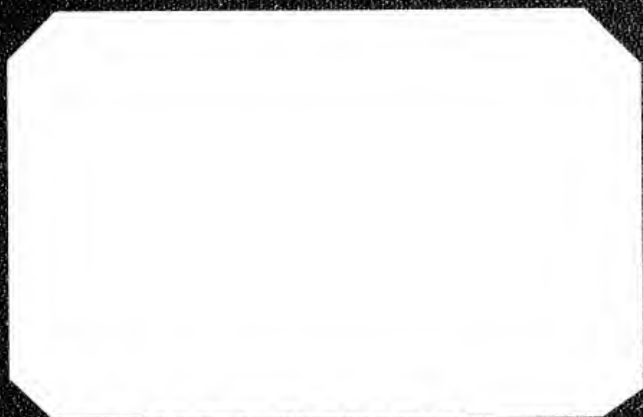


F

865

A22





Class F 865

Book 422

A D D R E S S

OF THE

MAJORITY OF THE

DEMOCRATIC MEMBERS

OF BOTH BRANCHES OF THE

Legislature of California,

IN PUBLIC MEETING ASSEMBLED IN CONVENTION, AT BENICIA, FEB'Y 1854.

SAN FRANCISCO:

PRINTED BY FRANCIS A. BONNARD,

SANSONE ST., BETWEEN WASHINGTON AND MERCHANT

.....

1854.

F865

F866

A D D R E S S

OF THE

Majority of the Democratic Members

OF BOTH BRANCHES OF THE

LEGISLATURE OF CALIFORNIA.

FELLOW DEMOCRATS :—Sent here as your representatives, we occupy positions which enable us to discover dangers that sometimes escape your eyes ; and appreciating the responsibilities imposed on us as agents, we have proceeded, under the pressure of a great necessity, to meet in caucus, in order to consult upon matters threatening the welfare of the State and party, and to take such measures, subject to your approval, as are warranted by the Constitution, and as seem, in our judgments, to be called for by the exigencies of the time. These, we, as a majority of the Democratic members of both houses of the Legislature, now respectfully desire to submit to you.

The main of these measures is a resolution to enter into an election this winter to supply the seat of California, becoming vacant in the Senate of the United States, on the 4th of March, 1855 ; (scarcely more than a twelvemonth hence,) and the next to make some effectual protest against the interference of Federal power and patronage, with the local legislation of this State.

We believe you will, on due examination, agree with us on the necessity of both these measures ; upon the first, as one of the legitimate avails of the late State contest ; and upon the next, as indispensable for the preservation of our local independence, and our political self respect.

There are two classes of reasons which have brought us to these conclusions. First, because, under the Constitutions of the United States and the State of California, the present session is the legal and proper one in which to provide for the forthcoming vacancy ; and, second, because the condition of the Democratic Party, assailed anew by the revived machinations of the Whigs and Democratic Bolters of the late campaign, require at our hands prompt action and sudden check. In that memorable contest, fellow-citizens, it was your steadfast fidelity to Democratic order, that saved our principles and preserved our ticket ; and now, the same spirit is again required, both from you and from us, to frustrate this supplemental and desperate attempt to derange our discipline and deprive us of the richest prize of hard-earned victory.

The epilogue of that contest is now being performed before us. It is directed in the main by the same characters, inspired by the same motives, conducted on the same principles, and worthy, we believe, of the same ignominious fate. We trace the connection between these incongruous elements from the date of the "Secret Circular," which was to rive the Democracy in twain and construct on its ruins a "Convention (Whig) Party ;" we follow a branch of the perturbed cabal into the late state Convention ; thence, we behold it issuing to unite again openly in favor of Waldo and the Whigs ; and now, we find both sections naturally fused together, and composing a phalanx, drilled for mischief, under "Secret Circular" leaders, to be manœuvred in compact operation on the very floors of this Legislature.

The last effort of this unhappy coalition—which as yet has succeeded in nothing—is to defeat the selection of a Democratic U. S. Senator this winter. It is a final spite of the Opposition against the Convention and Election, and they wage it through a motion for postponement, in order that the Senatorial question may be thrown like a firebrand into the next general canvass, to consume our narrow aggregate majorities, to breed in our large and closely balanced counties bitter and distracting feuds, and to slip between the striving candidates a Whig electoral majority, to curse our empire in the National Halls with a barren sceptre and divided rule.

Impressed with the danger comprehended in this state of affairs ; seeing it plainer from our positions than you can see it, and being empowered by you, to deal with all such exigencies, we followed the immemorial resource of the Democracy in times of danger, and agreed to meet in council for the party safety. To those who differed with us in opinion, we offered the olive branch of equal voices, and proposed to submit our common views to fair debate on the floor of a Convention ;

but the invitation was peremptorily rejected, our views were scorned, and the Opposition bolted the Caucus, and as it seems they are disposed to bolt every action which they cannot fashion, appropriate, or control.

We do not wish to infer the extreme of unjust motive against every one of the quasi members of this supplemental plot ; and in evidence of sincerity in this respect, will permit ourselves to review before you, the reasons they set up as sufficient, for refusing to the Democracy of California, the priceless benefit of one sixty-fourth part of the Government of the United States, for six entire years. Except out of respect for that portion which we concede may have been in honest error, we would scarcely occupy our time and yours, in such a task.

They object, first, to the constitutionality of an election this winter, and insist that it is out of time ; in short, too early by a year. On this subject we find the following, in the Constitution of the United States :

Art. 1, § 3. "The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators from each State, *chosen by the Legislature thereof*, for six years.

§ 4. "The *times, places and manner* of holding elections for Senators and Representatives, shall be prescribed in each State by the Legislature thereof ; but the Congress may at any time, by law, make or alter such regulations, except as to the places of choosing Senators."

This is all the authority we find in the general charter of the government on the subject under consideration, and upon its warrant, the State of California, on the 6th of January, 1862, passed an Act regulating the manner of electing its U. S. Senators ; but aware, like the U. S. Government, that no general rule could be prescribed to meet the unforeseen exigencies of all the States, it wisely abstained from fixing any special time for holding such elections. The silence of the Constitutions of both State and Union, therefore, was plainly a direct reference of the point of *time* to the discretion of the Legislature.

Constitutions are the carefully prepared Supreme Law of States. They are the work of patient inquiry and careful deliberation.—Within their scope nothing is overlooked—nothing done in a hurry. Whatever they do not prohibit, they permit ; nay, in omissions such as the one before us, they ordain ; and their refusal to fix a time for such an important event as the election of a U. S. Senator, is a direct reference of that subject, in its most extended bearings, to the discretion of the State Legislature.

In absence, however, of any of the special circumstances which seem to have been conceived when these omissions were made, the obviously proper time for holding such election is, during the session of the Legis-

lature next preceding the one when the vacancy occurs. In support of this view we have the natural bearings of the case, and likewise the records of the U. S. Senate, as transmitted hither, recently, by its experienced Secretary, in answer to an enquiry which was designed to furnish instruction for us, in the way of precedent. In presenting the following letter of the honorable Secretary, we will only pause to say, that the Opposition, staggered by its testimony, have actually endeavored to pervert it to their own use ; and we request you to measure, if you can, the desperation of that cause, and conceive, if possible, the effrontery of that faction, which could have adopted such a bold resource, to sustain what they felt to be an utterly indefensible position.

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF THE SENATE, U. S. }
WASHINGTON, 17th November, 1853. }

SIR :—In answer to your inquiry, I have the honor to state that, upon examination of the records of the Senate and other means of information now within my reach, for the last twenty-three years, it is found, that, *in every instance*, where before the expiration of a Senatorial term, a Senator has been elected for the ensuing term, he has been elected at the session of the Legislature *next preceding the commencement of such term*.

The uninterrupted uniformity of this practice for so long a series of years, and throughout all the States in the Union, seems to render it unnecessary to carry the examination further back, especially as I see no reason to doubt that the result will be the same.

In this examination I have been aided by a reference to the American Almanac, in regard to the time of meeting of some of the State Legislatures, the admitted accuracy of that work justifying such reference. But as that publication was not commenced until the year 1839, the like information in regard to previous years, must be sought in various sources—many of them difficult of access—and would require very considerable time.

I have the honor to be, Sir,

Your obedient servant,

[Signed]

ASBURY DICKENS,

Secretary of the Senate.

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF THE SENATE, U. S. }
December, 2d, 1853. }

SIR :—Since my letter of the 17th ult., the examination has been carried back to the very first session of the Senate, 1789, and, as far as can be ascertained from the Records of the Senate, it is found, that, *in every instance*, where, before the expiration of a Senatorial term, a Senator has been elected for the ensuing term, he has been elected at the session of the State Legislature *next preceding the commencement of such term*.

I have the honor to be, Sir,

Your obedient servant,

ASBURY DICKENS,

Secretary of the Senate

According to the Secretary, therefore, uninterrupted custom, backed by the spirit of the Law, has sanctioned this Session, (as the one "preceding the commencement of the new term" of March 4th, 1855,) to be the proper time for holding an election to supply the seat of Mr Gwin ; and it is really a matter of surprise, that any could be found, among those who have the remotest knowledge of the penalties of deception, to assume, that the unmistakable language of "*next preceding the commencement of a new term,*" should be received as meaning, *the midst of a Session when such vacancy occurs.*

While using the evidence of Mr. Dickens for our case, liberality induces us to admit a few precedents (evidently overlooked by him,) which disturb his rule, though not sufficiently to make a rule themselves. The cases of Pratt of Maryland and White of Tennessee, are readiest to our minds, and in alluding to them, we feel it our duty, further to say, that though Mr. White was elected nearly three years in advance of a vacancy, it is said to be "a part of the history of the times," that his election was received by the People with general satisfaction.

At this point too, we are willing to concede, that the precedents of Mr. Dickens, though they all make in our favor, are not to be taken as obligatory on the domestic action of this State. We recognize the sovereign right of California to make rules for herself: we desire to see her act independently when it suits her ; to reject, if she like, the thralldom of old opinion, especially when unduly put forth in scarecrow appeals to "time-honored usage;" that when not controlled by positive law, she will not be bound by any dictates but those of her own solid judgment and paramount will. Custom, however, is entitled to some attention, and before our State ignores the proper respect for precedents which lies within the boundary of her reserved rights, we would ask, in her name, some better construction of language, than the bolting translation of the Secretary's letter ; and some more respectable reason than Whig and Federal desire, saddled and bridled, and driven in a triple tandem, by and with a Custom House Collector.

Law and practice—the Constitution and the weight of custom, all repose on our side, and each will be violated and our rights foregone, if the election be illegally postponed and transferred to the stormy centre of a session, *during which* the vacancy occurs.

Moreover, an election next year, in addition to being out of rule, would be dangerous in policy, inadequate to the requirements of the State, and unjust to the member who may be selected for the place. Dangerous, because it would imperil the safety of our party, and because it would enlarge, to us, the risks of the next General Election.

Inadequate to the necessities of the State, because the ensuing Legislature may fail to choose in time to meet the exigency of an Executive Session on the 4th of March of 1855 ; and unjust, because it banishes a representative who has served his State sufficiently well to be rewarded, to take a six years' exile, at an hour's notice.

There are obligations on both sides ; and a State which asks a man who may be largely identified with her by widely distributed interests, to become her public agent for so long a period as six years, should afford him time, at least, to wind up his personal affairs, in a manner not altogether ruinous to himself. In this regard California stands differently from every other State in the Union. We do not speak so much with regard to her geographical distance from the National Government, though that is something, as with regard to her domestic, financial, mineral, lauded, agricultural and social condition. It is plain a representative may not arrange his business in either of these departments, in two or three days or weeks as in an Atlantic State, to undergo an absence of six years : and we venture nothing when we say, that for ten years yet to come, the State of California should elect her Senators at least one year in advance of the rule of other States.

Indeed, if an alteration, for the future, of the rule which justifies the election now, be advisable at all, we should much prefer an enlargement of the margin for choice, to a curtailment of the already too restricted period for preparation. That preparatory period, (as fixed by recent resolution between the 6th of next March and the 4th of March ensuing,) is short of a year : and while you bear this in mind, we trust you will not forget to award a due condemnation to that want of truth, which has viciously misrepresented this period, as an advance of two and three years.

It suggests itself to us here, that the Congressional Representatives of California are elected more than a year in advance : those to be chosen in the coming Fall, receiving their credentials thirteen months previous to the session when they take their seats ; and it further suggests itself, that the very parties — those " martyrs of principle " and apostles of consistency — who are so ready to cherish democratic ascendancy rather than see a United States Senator elected at an advance of even so much as a year, are the advocates who introduced and strenuously insisted on these extended marginal terms for representatives to the Lower House. If the principle is correct in that case, it is doubly obligatory upon the case we put. Representatives of the people have no formal duties to perform till the opening of the Congress in which they are accredited to sit ; Senators who are the representatives of States,

sit in Executive session pending the opening of Congress, at the formation of new Cabinets. Though no executive session should occur within next year, one will surely take place on the 4th of March, 1857, and if we establish a precedent now, that a United States Senator may not be elected at the session preceding the vacancy, we lose a seat in the United States Senate at the expiration of Mr. Weller's term, and the right of California to help shape the Cabinet, and secure her share of those appointments which the States are latterly in the habit of regarding as among their most important interests. Here is a question of principle and precedent united, ample enough to supply the broad conscientiousness even of a bolter, and which, with the example before us of a session in our own State, (1851,) during which, through disagreement, there was a failure to elect, not even a bolter can have justification to refuse. Though he bolt the precedents of Ashbury Dickens; rebel against the usage of a caucus—fight against us with the Whigs, in a general election, he cannot bolt this dilemma, without confessing finally, that he will recognize no precedents but those of revolt; no principles but those of destruction.

The prospect of an executive session on the 4th of March 1855, though derided by the Opposition, as the incident only of a new inauguration, is not so unlikely to occur. Presidents die; sometimes they scatter their Cabinets to the wind; and it is the part of wisdom to consider the whole of a subject, and provide for all contingencies.

Least of all, should it be overlooked, that without regard to an executive session, the newly elected Senator for California steps into the position of the old one, instantan, on the vacancy, and at once represents his State with the President at the White House, with the Cabinet in their offices, and with the side branches of the Government in a multiplicity of matters profoundly affecting those of her interests pending the opening of the session. These tasks he may perform by letter, if he remain at home; in person, if he go; but whether he go or stay, it is important he be chosen in sufficient time to enter on his labors, of all kinds, without any gap of representation against the State, as between him and his predecessor.

It is a maxim in politics that "the King never dies." and there must equally be no interregnum in Republican sovereignty, wherever a branch of the vital prerogative be lodged. The term of a Senator commences on the expiration of the term of his predecessor. The Constitution and the decree of usage prescribes the Legislature "next preceding that commencement" as the proper one to choose; and we hold, therefore, that it would not only be illegal, but almost criminal

in us, were we to push the ordeal to an unnatural time, and wound the State sovereignty with the interjection of a blank in a branch of its existence.

Objection has also been made to an election this winter, on the pretence that "the People have not been consulted on the Senatorial subject;" and it has been said by opposing minds, that it is our intention to disfranchise the masses and dispose of the question ourselves.

From you who know us in our several constituencies, we do not fear an unjust inference from such a charge. It is true, we do intend to dispose of the question ourselves, and just in the manner we have laid before you, (unless you otherwise direct,) and we intend so to do, because we feel we shall be acting for your benefit, and because, too, we believe we have your full warrant to act for you, in all general matters springing within the scope of representative adjustment. We do not believe your substantial sense is to be affected by mischievous clamor, or that you can be blown into anger by an insinuation that we intend to you disrespect. Both you and we understand the relations between representative and constituent sufficiently well, not to encroach on the one side, or be idly jealous on the other; and those of us who are Senators know that our lengthened terms were not jealously constituted with a view to continual response. We, of the other house, act always from the impulse of those sentiments which you imbue us with at the beginning of every political year, and we are willing to acquiesce, whenever you choose to intercept our judgment, in any and every direction you may desire to give.

We understand the platform between us, as you would have it—with dignity to us both. We know that such powers as the people wish to exercise themselves, they reserve; what they wish to refer to more technical and practised umpires, they relinquish. In matters of law, they appoint judges to decide the law for them; in the choice of U. S. Senators, they deputise the Legislature. They do not require to be especially consulted upon either style of inquest, and never wish to give instructions, except they distrust their representatives, or cherish a directly conflicting opinion. Those who fawningly consult them too much, are apt to insult them a little. If they do not exhibit parasitism, they betray wire-pulling speculation; or by too much dependence for direction, confess a servile incapacity that proves them unfit for the bold responsibilities in times of danger which make a representative invaluable.

We know that you designed the Legislature to elect U. S. Senators, and that you reserved to yourselves the direct privilege of electing the

Legislature ; and we know, too, that you would as cheerfully acquiesce in our choice this winter, as you would have acquiesced in the action of the last Legislature, had a Cabinet appointment produced a premature vacancy in the place of Mr. Gwin. Such exigencies are always in the road of action, and you have provided for them by the manner in which you have constituted us. We shall always be ready to act for you to the best of our judgments, bound by our oaths and governed by our sacred honor ; and we rely on the opinion we deserve from you to guard us from imputation at the mouths of bolters, who, while pretending to be "martyrs of principle," have been persistently engaged in seeking to destroy every principle that is dear to the Democracy.

The outcry of such politicians about "the People's rights," is too hollow to deceive ; and we refer you to the antecedents of those who set it up, to instruct you how highly they respect your rights, and how much more than we they are governed by public spirit and a concern for party welfare. Such new born love of principle, such unlooked-for high-mindedness, comes with strange grace from those who sought to cut the throat of our party over the threshold of the Benicia Convention, who tried to betray our flag upon the field of battle, and who now stand even here, linked daily, breast to breast, with clasped shields, to our enemies, the Whigs ! The wail of anguish, then, which they set up in your behalf, through travelling emissaries on leave, and letter-writers from the arm chairs of the Custom House, is the mere trick of demagogues, not conceived with a view of arousing invaded privilege to a sense of honor, but in the hope to breed a dissatisfaction in vain minds, that may give them time to play concealed hands. This is, in itself, the greatest insult that could be offered to you, for it presupposes against you both ignorance and weakness, and it is merely a manoeuvre to cloak your eyes, while a lance is flung into your shoulder.

It has been charged against us, also, that we have endeavored to dragoon the minority into our views by getting up a caucus ; and on this a word.

We, as your agents here, perceived by numerous indications, that a crisis of opinion was approaching among the Democratic members of the Legislature, which threatened the most serious consequences to our party welfare. To check this feeling, to conciliate prejudice, to compare views, and make compromises with a liberal spirit, we proposed to our colleagues that we should enter together into council, and of course, be bound by whatever line of action the majority should in your name adopt. This is a course which has been sanctioned by Democratic cus

tom since the days of Jefferson, and in addition to that license, it bears the paramount warrant of being the only mode in which parties can efficiently protect themselves in cases of unforeseen and vital peril. This proper measure, this "time-honored custom," was flatly refused by thirty-eight of our number, who, after having dictated "usage" to California, which, as a sovereign, is not amenable to "usage," ignored this law of usage themselves who were merely agents, and gave rein to their instincts by bolting the Caucus. Their main pretence of opposition was, that the *time* of fixing the Senatorial election involved the discussion of a *principle*, which did not come within the scope of Caucus, and by way of giving this some force, they entered into a little caucus of their own to decide the *principle*, that a caucus had nothing to do with principle at all. A consistent conclusion for such a convention, and quite agreeable in logic with the Address which came from it, at its parturition; and especially worthy of its dernier resort, that "majorities are sometimes wrong."

It is true, majorities are sometimes *wrong*, but minorities must bear in mind, that they are in danger of becoming *criminal*, according to the law of party, in not abiding by their verdicts—right or wrong.

The rule of the Opposition in this matter is the way by which small offenders *let* against the law, but their minority argument in favor of doing as they please against the majority of society, generally avails them very little before an upright jury who have been in the habit of respecting the laws of the majority themselves.

In the case before us, the minority had no cause to protest, much less to rebel. The question of time, was purely a caucus question. There was no principle to be considered; that had been established by the State and National Constitutions, clenched by the usage of the country; and the only point for deliberation was, *the jibber of a day*. The caucus was called, therefore, to deliberate upon a set party policy, to settle an expedient, and not to discuss a principle, and those who refused to recognise its action and respect its decrees, whether party organs or party men, deliberately annihilated all claims to democratic favor; all right to future notice.

One word more before we close, as to the charge that an election, by us, of a United States Senator this winter, will disfranchise the people of their rights of expression; and to present this properly, we must examine, with more care than we have yet done, what extent of privilege the people have desired to reserve to themselves on this subject.

By a wise arrangement in our plan of government, U. S. Senators are, in the words of Mr. Madison, "not so much the representatives of

the People as the representatives of the sovereignty of the States." The People cannot have a direct voice in their election, and therefore properly relinquish the whole subject to their representatives. Until a fundamental change of our Constitution be made, this must continue to be the case; and but little reflection will show, that the rule works with a peculiarly wholesome effect on the example now before us. Should the Senatorial election, which is due this winter, be unhapily postponed, the next campaign instead of being one of party *principles*, would be strictly one of *men*, and in the strife of passion and contending private interests our majority would be distributed upon the gale, and our *measures* would be shipwrecked. We ask you, fellow citizens if such a turbulent canvass as this, set on foot and agitated by such passions as you already see at work, is an ordeal as safe and proper as the one to which the Constitution and your own calm judgment, when undisturbed by violent appeals, has regularly confided it. Dangers like this had been foreseen by Jefferson, and to that foresight do we owe the maxim, that "whenever the Democratic party forgot its *measures*, and entered the political field simply for *men*, it was no longer a party, but a congregation of factions."

But one task now remains; and that is to rebuke the interference of the agents of the Federal power and patronage with our domestic politics, and to characterize that interference with the terms which it deserves—a duty that rising indignation warns us must be done with a watch upon our temper.

The National Government, as compared with the States, is but a subordinate agent; in short a clerk, appointed by the general partnership to collect and apply a portion of their rents, and perform such other tasks as the great sovereignties cannot, without some inconvenience and confusion, perform for themselves. The politics of the States and National Government are of precisely the same respective balance. It is the victorious Democracy which constitutes a central administration, just as the Supreme States constitute a central power, and we have a right to express indignation when that agent forgets its subordinate capacity, loses sight of its obligations, and purse-proud with fees and incomes, attempts to govern our actions, and perform the part of master. Yet such is the state of things between the Administration and the Democracy of California, and we feel that it has reached a point which demands from us a proper anger, and perhaps, at a future time, a due resentment.

The true Democracy of California, like the chivalry of old, are "without fear and without reproach;" none have a higher standing in the

Country, or are more free from blemish. That Democracy contributed with its whole heart to constitute the present administration, by its action in the Baltimore Convention; and in the electoral college it cast the four bridal votes of California in the same direction. Lo, the response. The administration thus complimented, names for its first officer in California, a person who owes his entire prominence before the world of politics, to the occupancy of his place. Its agents opposed the victorious Democracy at the Benicia Convention. They made alliance with the Whigs and Bolters to defeat us in the re-election of Governor Bigler. They are openly charged with having dispensed corrupting gold, without success, to thwart a County Convention which the Democracy of San Francisco approved by a majority of nearly four thousand votes. They unite with the Bolters and with the Whigs in opposition to the Senatorial election; and it is a notorious fact that the tried leaders of the Democracy—those who have kept the State upright in the faith, and waged her victorious through every peril in her existence, could not, though they should all combine, present influence enough at the door of the Custom House to secure an appointment to the meanest office in its departments.

This is a scandalous state of things. It exhibits not only a want of gratitude, but a blindness to moral obligation and utter absence of principle that has no parallel in political history. We need not say it is unjust to the Democracy, because we have a right to denounce it as criminal; and we may define its whole character by the fact that, great as is the measure of the wrong to us, it is exceeded by the measureless disgrace it reflects on them.

Truly, this is a strange state of affairs, and the strangest part of it is, that the Administration should persist in its attitude without any open purpose, although its agents have passed through a series of the most ignominious defeats. • Were it not for the number and signal character of these defeats, we would suppose it ignorant of the use made of its power here; we might believe it unacquainted with the company it is forced to keep, and quite blind to the deplorable depth to which those unhappy associations have sunk it in the public estimation of the masses of this State; but Charity, though willing, can hardly yield it the remission of stupidity, and we are forced to conclude that the course pursued to the Democracy of this State, is an experiment of encroachment, (exhibited in a somewhat similar manner in other States,) and the general view of which is, to dragoon State politics under Federal control, and make the central power master of the country, through the vulgar influence of spoils.

To rebuke this attempt ; to vindicate the dignity of our State and the Democratic party over the encroachments of the Federal agents ; to brand their presumptuous interference with another overthrow, we, as your representatives, shall insist on calling on the Senatorial election on the 6th of the approaching month of March. That will bring the question up, *within the year during which the vacancy occurs*, and we trust that those gentlemen, who, governed by proper motives, have, without due examination, been deceived about the time, and thus been induced into the union of the Whigs and Bolters, will withdraw at once from the unblest alliance ; gather under the broad unspotted banner of that true Democracy which has thus far always been victorious ; which is destined still to triumph, but which, whether victorious or not, is the only one that can wage war over them, as Democrats, without shadowing them with disgrace !

The time is ripe for judgment. The crisis has arrived for action.—The masses of the State are examining the roll, and as the soldiers answer, they take sides forever. The Senatorial question, having been decided by a majority of the Democratic members of the Legislature to come on this winter, is the test. The Constitution permits, usage warrants, and the necessities of the time require it. That is our platform, and in good faith and honor, we plant ourselves upon it, and submit ourselves to you.

SENATORS.

San Francisco County.

JOHN S. HAGER,
WM. M. LENT,
DAVID MAHONEY,
E. J. MOORE.

Nevada County.

WM. H. LYONS.

Yuba County.

CHAS. H. BRYAN,
JAMES G. STEBBINS.

Tuolumne County.

JAMES W. COFFROTH.

Sacramento County.

G. W. COLBY.

Santa Barbara County.

PABLO DE LA GUERRA

Santa Cruz County.

B. C. WHITING.

El Dorado County.

H. G. LIVERMORE
G. D. HALL.

Shasta County.

R. T. SPRAGUE

Placer County.

CHAS. A. TUTTLE

MEMBERS OF ASSEMBLY.

El Dorado County.

D. P. TALMAGE,
ALFRED BRIGGS,
JOHN CONNESS,
G. McDONALD,
H. HOLLISTER.
E. C. SPRINGER,
S. A. BALLOU.

Placer County.

G. H. VANCLEFT,
JAMES O'NEILL,
B. L. FAIRFIELD,
B. F. MYERS.

San Luis Obispo County.

PARKER H. FRENCH.

Colueros County.

W. C. PRATT,
MARTIN ROWAN.

Sacramento County.

J. M. McBRAYER,
F. A. PARK,
J. W. PARK,
T. R. DAVIDSON,

Yuba County.

C. W. DANIELS,
J. C. JONES,
H. B. KELLOGG,

Butte County.

RICHARD IRWIN.

San Francisco County.

ELIJAH NICHOLS,
J. W. BAGLEY,
JOHN C. HUBBARD,
A. A. GREEN,
J. W. SWEASEY,
JAMES GILBERT,
E. B. PURDY,
J. W. KOLL.

Nevada County.

ISAAC N. DAWLEY,

Tuolumne County.

J. T. HOYT,
H. B. GODARD,
J. J. HOFF,

San Bernardino

J. HUNT,

Marin County.

DAVID CLINGAN.

Yolo County.

H. GRIFFITH.

Shasta County.

JOHN A. RING.

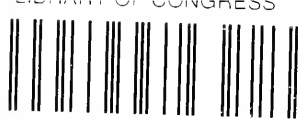
Monterey County.

D. R. ASHLEY.

Humboldt County.

M. SPENCER.

BENICIA, FEBRUARY, 1854.



LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

0 017 138 372 9